

# PEACE NEWS

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## The Hope For Peace

BY PERCY REDFERN

WHEN we ask embattled governments today to define their war aims, no doubt we ask too much.

Old-fashioned wars, big or little, could be reasonable enterprises, and under control. Bismarck's small war of 1866 was thus limited; while throughout the years of the American civil war everybody knew the unchanging aims.

Twentieth-century wars are bigger, if not better, and purposes steadily expand to match.

Germany in 1939 said nothing that I can discover about a new order in Europe. Apparently it was after the conquests in the West that the Germans found themselves to be the protectors of the continent. Asserting a duty of enforcing unity and collaboration was much better than making the old apologies for invading neutrals. Unfolding events called for an overlord; and for a time the major Power must set aside other rights, in order to go about the estate and defend and extend it for defence wherever expedient.

So war aims rewrite themselves, each time in blood.

To the opposing democracies, dynamic war also dictates. Freedom remains the published aim. But war is a masterful and practical business, and war leaders find it necessary in action to reduce undying causes to something more concrete than rhetorical appeals for unlimited dying.

The definite British aim has long been that of keeping Europe so divided and balanced as to leave an ocean power free to build her empire overseas. Here is the well-known Foreign Office fixture somewhat written up by Fisher in *A History of Europe* as the "deep political instinct of the British people to range itself against the strongest European power."

But, to keep its aim, this centuries-old principle, too, has to extend.

LOOKING back, the remarkable thing in the last war was the respect for national boundaries. Pleading necessity, Germany admitted wrong in Belgium, and the invading armies went out of their way to avoid crossing a strip of Holland. And it was with a bad conscience, and with the blame placed on the French, that Britain continued in Salonica.

Now, in this renewed war, apologies for occupations are no more expected than for bombing whole cities, or for destroying another nations' workshops, once they are controlled by the enemy. Iceland, Greenland, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Madagascar, Morocco, Algeria—the only limit is expediency.

Of our part in the change, what is to be said? Only two views seem possible. Either we hold to previous standards and must confess to wrong, or a new aim is written in these deeds, an aim by which they can be justified. This new war aim is at hand. Let the rulers of the waves be acknowledged as having a right to impose peace upon, and create a peaceable new order for, not Europe only but the world, and once more a beneficent, suzerain may proceed everywhere, in

the last resort, to exercise for all his paramount rights.

The British peoples alone, being less numerous throughout the world than the Germans in Europe, could hardly make such a claim.

But a British advance in this direction does fit in with another and not dissimilar extension of traditional aims. From protecting the western hemisphere against any further European expansion, and from having imposed unity and peace upon one-time seceding States, what great advance is it to join in stopping political expansions and enforcing peace over the entire globe?

So a scheme of "United Nations," two of which in any extremity will be joint masters of all the oceans and ocean-borne commerce, becomes practical. And again a supreme war aim writes itself.

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IF this picture is true, what is the pacifist to make of it?

First we can admit that if peace and a broad economic unity can be imposed either on Europe separately

## EXPLORERS ALL

THE implications of pacifism are tremendous. Certainly, they are inexhaustible; perhaps unformulable. But most pacifists are now at one in believing that pacifism is a way of life, however slight their claim to know what that way of life should be. There is no doubt that for many, many years to come the work of exploration, through experience, will go on. "We know not yet what we shall be."

Just as the Dick Sheppard House fund has secured the movement its local habitation and its name, so the Peace News fund will secure that the work of conscious exploration of what is involved in the pacifist faith shall never languish. It is the material evidence, the outward and visible sign, of our determination that we shall not cease from mental fight.

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THE EDITOR

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or on the globe as a whole, there will be, whatever happens, something to redeem the evil and misery of war. But it is still more clear that force driven on by propagated hate will be no creator of any lasting good.

Germany's moral failure in Europe becomes obvious; and however more tolerant and wise the democracies may be in general, there is no hope in the programmes for subjecting and repressing as morally inferior a vanquished two hundred millions of the people of the earth.

Whether Russian communism or western capitalism is lion or lamb, how long will either be accommodated within a victor's order? And if in twenty or thirty years, a China of 400,000,000 should leap forward to manufacture, export, multiply, and emigrate, would that freedom fit in?

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TO unite the nations in anything like a workable, fair, and not too unequal order, and thereby establish the only real foundation for peace, is a task far more difficult than to make war. It demands an utterly different and sympathetic concentration on peace as a religious end, as well as an art and a science. And while no sane pacifist would assert that past belligerence must disqualify a man from successful peacemaking, it is certain that war propaganda, war hate, and collective self-righteousness, constantly accepted, must deeply injure every peacemaking capacity.

The hope for peace in the millions who, having seen war and seen through it, turn anew to more fruitful living.

But peace has its defects as well as war; and those who believe in bombs will always be exasperated into threatening or using bombs. On the fewer steadfast who have kept peace in their hearts, their minds, and their hands, how greatly the future depends!

## Mr. Churchill "Holds His Own"

THE dropping of Sir Stafford Cripps from the War Cabinet and his replacement by Mr. Herbert Morrison is obviously a change of great significance. What its significance is, is another matter.

Let me indulge the cynic in me, and be the voice of his interpretation. Mr. Churchill, he says, is cashing in on recent victory. He was compelled, when his prestige was low, after our signal defeats in the Far East—defeats which have not yet come near to being retrieved—to take Sir Stafford Cripps into the War Cabinet.

Sir Stafford was, at that time, the political focus of a constructive opposition; and he was generally credited with a deep and abiding concern for the essential minimum of social reconstruction. But he was promptly sent to India, to make an offer of eventual self-government to India, although there was not the faintest reason to suppose that Mr. Churchill himself had changed his old die-hard and reactionary attitude to India.

In other words, Mr. Churchill was trying to off-set the spectacular military defeat in the Far East by political concessions to India. There is nothing disreputable in this, judged by politician morality. Cripps's mission to India was a move dictated by war-exigency, not principle. The war-exigency has ceased. Cripps goes overboard.

### Cripps Steps Down

THERE are two things, says my cynic, to be borne in mind. The first is that the war-exigency, as con-

ceived by Mr. Churchill, is not wholly an objective reality. It is not so much a condition which threatens Britain with military defeat, as one which threatens Mr. Churchill with political defeat. Mr. Churchill used Sir Stafford to shore up his own position as Prime Minister. The second is that ever since Cripps returned from India, he has been pressing for some instalment of the social reconstruction necessary if a post-war crisis is to be avoided. As late as Nov. 18 in the House of Commons, Cripps was emphasizing the urgent necessity of speedy legislation, which, he said, the Government intended to introduce.

While those who desire a more rapid progress and development in our political and economic institutions must hold themselves back for the purpose of maintaining unity, equally those who come into the United Government from the political Right must be prepared to hurry their steps forward in some degree.

The speech was hardly that of a man who had been forewarned that he was to be dropped from the Government on the morrow. Yet that is what happened. On November 19 came the request from Mr. Churchill that he should "step down in the political hierarchy."

### Morrison Steps Up

FURTHERMORE, says the cynic, we have to consider by whom Cripps has been replaced. Mr. Herbert Morrison has lately stepped

into the lime-light as the defender against American criticism of Mr. Churchill's intransigent attitude with regard to the British Empire. You probably wondered why Mr. Morrison, of all people, was chosen and publicized as the inspired commentator on "We hold our own." Nothing could well have seemed more remote from the concerns of the administrator of 18b and civil defence, than the ticklish business of adequately defending the British Empire to America.

Mr. Winant is no firebrand; yet even he warned us, months ago, that there was, between Britain and USA, "a greater divergence on British colonial policy than on any other subject." Pre-eminently this was a matter on which we should have expected Cripps, whose mission to India had done more to disarm American misgivings about the British Empire than any other act of the Churchill Government, to be our spokesman. But evidently Mr. Morrison was being groomed for his new position in the team of the war-chariot.

### Crucial Appointment

YET again (says the cynic) you will have observed that the reshuffle has created a vacancy at the Colonial Office: a crucial appointment in view of the present condition of Anglo-American relations. It might have been well understood if Cripps had been given the position. But no! It has gone to Mr. Oliver Stanley, who re-emerged into the public eye by reason of a speech in the India

## PACIFIST COMMENTARY: EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

debate a month ago.

Mr. Stanley's speech was illuminating. The theme was that the House of Commons knew precious little about what India felt (which is probably true) but that was really less important than that India should know what the House of Commons felt. And that he proceeded to indicate. It was a witty speech; it was a clever speech; it was an empty speech. But it contained a Churchillian jewel—the very same jewel which, when it fell from Mr. Churchill's lips, excited the ribaldry of the New Yorker. This time it was used as a missile, and sped to America.

Many Empires have disappeared in the past. They have been destroyed, rebellion has shorn them of some of their greatest provinces; but have you ever had before a people who voluntarily took the brightest jewel out of the Imperial Crown prepared to lay it on the altar of their ideals? I think it is just as well that that should be known in the world. In the memory of living men a great people refused to their own kith and kin the right to secede, and enforced their denial by force of arms (Hansard, Oct. 8).

### Yes - Men

IT is difficult (says the cynic) to resist the conclusion that the uncomplimentary comparison between the refusal of the North to allow the South to secede, and the willingness of Britain to give India the right of secession—a comparison fantastically remote from any historical reality—was the finishing touch to the grooming of Col. Stanley for his new place in the war-chariot.

You will observe (says my friend) the nice balance of forces. Mr. Mor-

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## Pacifism and Politics

OF late we have been astonished by the apparent intolerance displayed by pacifists towards one another. How far or deep this intolerance extends in the movement it is hard to say, but it is sufficiently vocal to cause some concern. Its manifestations are various. One consists in a facile and irresponsible attachment of the opprobrious label fascist to any pacifist who does not happen to be some sort of revolutionary socialist. Another consists in applying the same label to any pacifist who is critical of the Soviet Union. These manifestations appear to spring from an unspoken and undefined political philosophy, which in the minds of its vociferous adherents is the one and only political creed which a pacifist may profess.

Since the creed is unspoken and undefined, it is difficult to describe or criticize. But it seems to be a belief that pacifism is non-violent communism. This is a very mysterious conception. Non-violent communism is surely a contradiction in terms. Indeed, so obviously a contradiction that it may be the reason why the phrase is never used. To regard a social system which is consciously based on the ruthless prosecution of the class-war to the uttermost limit as worthy of admiration by a pacifist is surely to play tricks with one's own mind. He who wills the end, wills the means. Pacifists cannot eulogize the achievements of the Soviet Union without condoning the methods by which alone, according to those best qualified to decide, those achievements were made possible. Communism established by internal violence and secured by dictatorship we know; community established by the free consent of a group of people we likewise know: the one is extant—a solid and relatively successful organization of a mass-society: a particular form of totalitarianism. The other is continually being attempted nowadays by groups of convinced pacifists. These are two social realities, on vastly different scales. But non-violent communism is a chimera of the brain. It does not exist, it cannot exist. It appears to be mere excuse for not thinking, and for abusing those who do.

This heresy has milder forms. There are those who believe that every consistent pacifist must be a socialist: in the sense that only in a world organized on socialist principles will the economic drive towards war be abolished. That is a justifiable attitude so long as it is made plain that the only kind of socialism which a pacifist can profess is socialism by consent. All but the most fervid enthusiast will admit that socialism by consent is pretty remote. If we have to wait for its world-wide establishment before we can have peace, our case is miserable. Furthermore, though socialism is a very vague term, most forms of it depend upon a considerable extension of the powers of the central government. The liberty of the individual, which is necessarily an integral part of the pacifist claim upon society, is liable to fare badly under such a system. So that the pacifist who believes in individual liberty has a good right to return the charge of fascist upon those who advocate a system which demands an increase of centralization.

The fact appears to be that pacifism is not essentially allied to any political creed. A pacifist may just as legitimately be a Conservative as a Socialist in domestic politics. But if he is a pacifist, his pacifism must take precedence over his conservatism or his socialism. That is the important point. For pacifism has its own morality: and to that morality tolerance is fundamental. Just as non-violent communism is a contradiction in terms, so is intolerant pacifism.

## The New War-Chariot A PACIFIST COMMENTARY (Continued from page one)

rison comes from the Left, Mr. Stanley from the Right. Yet each has proved his capacity for advancement by telling the Americans where they get off about the Empire. Yes-men to the great dictum: "We hold our own"—replacing Cripps, who stood for something different, at the first moment that a change in the war-situation makes Churchill strong enough to get rid of the inopportune idealist who does not see in the idea of "the liquidation of the British Empire" a concept entirely alien to morality. You will have noticed that The Times, which is very depressed over the downfall of Cripps, took Churchill directly to task.

Americans may be forgiven the half-conscious assumption that the "British Empire" is the same institution with which they parted company in 1776. But it is less excusable when British spokesmen appear to nourish or encourage the same belief. To deprecate the "liquidation" of the British Empire is surely a false approach. The pride and achievement of the British Empire are that it has become in a certain sense a self-liquidating concern. Its aims can be defined in terms not of "have and hold", but of the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms.

### "After Me, — "

**D**O not forget (says my cynic, in a parting shot) that the first use Mr. Churchill makes of a modicum of victory is to get rid of one person in the war-cabinet who, rightly or wrongly, is believed to have some glimmer of understanding of the prodigious dangers of the post-war situation; who, in the speech in the House which proved to be his swan-song, said:

"We must not, by reason of the present necessity for political unity, stultify ourselves as a democratic body by ignoring those essential steps of preparation for post-war conditions, and for regulating conditions that have been created by or have arisen out of the war itself. If we were not prepared to accept that proposition we should, I believe, be declaring the bankruptcy of our democratic methods and should be gravely jeopardizing the continuance of our democracy in the post-war period" (Hansard, Nov. 18).

And that, I think, is the clue to the significance of what Mr. Churchill has done. Like the Bourbon, he cries: "After me, the deluge!" Nor, to be quite candid, do I think that Mr. Morrison would be other than an apt lieutenant if it comes to liquidating democracy as an alternative to liquidating the Empire.

### Turn of The Tide?

**I**T should not, however, be forgotten that the real basis of this perceptible change in the balance of forces in the Government—this increase of the personal following of Mr. Churchill—is the universal belief that the

turn of the tide has come, and that a British victory is now assured. It may be so. But the fact is that the Germans have not yet been bundled out of N. Africa; and that, if and when they are, the Mediterranean is by no means automatically open to us. After all, the price paid for the Allied occupation of N. Africa is the German occupation of all France, which is likely to be an impediment to our free use of the Middle Sea.

As things are likely to be for a long while yet, the actual business of reconquering the lost British possessions in the Far East is bound to fall to the USA. If the American accounts are correct, the recent naval battle in the Solomons is not only one of the biggest but one of the most decisive naval battles ever fought. The USA must needs have a correspondingly decisive influence on the liquidation or solidification (or whatever intermediate process may be conceived) which the British Empire will undergo.

### Far East Necessities

**T**HAT is not to say that American opinion will be adverse to the restoration of the British Empire in some form. The USA can hardly commit itself to the restoration of the French colonial empire (as it has done) and impose a veto upon the restoration of the British. But it is plain enough that in no conceivable circumstances will the USA suffer itself to be drawn into the position of guaranteeing the British Empire after the war. If American policy shapes itself as an effort to replace Japanese by Chinese hegemony in the East, by giving China the steady economic assistance necessary to raise the Chinese standard of living, the effect upon India—not to speak of Burma and Malaya—will be revolutionary.

Amid all the uncertainties of the future one thing is certain, that the British Empire in its Far Eastern department cannot survive in its familiar form. Mr. Churchill's "We hold our own" may raise a cheer from the primitives, whose spokesman of genius he is; but it will not divert the march of necessity. We cannot "hold our own"—supposing it is our own—without running headlong to disaster. Unless the Empire becomes, in very fact, a free federation, its disintegration is inevitable.

### U.S.A. and Co-operation

**T**HIS Washington Correspondent of The Times (Nov. 24), I see, endorses my judgment of the Republican Party in USA, which is so optimistically supposed to "have shed its isolationism".

"No statesman in any other country of the allied nations will be wise if he puts too much faith in the Republican Party as an organization which has been regenerated by the experience of the last three years. There are some, and they can be found in high places in USA, who believe that it should be possible while the war is still being fought to establish by agreement a cooperative international relationship whose extension into the time of relief and reconstruction could not be prevented by later Congressional action. They are wrong."

That peremptory warning should temper the hopes aroused by the otherwise encouraging

news of the appointment of Governor Lehmann to plan for the relief and reconstruction of "countries occupied and destroyed".

### Britain and France

**O**UR unimaginative and ill-considered propaganda against Vichy is recoiling to the embarrassment of our policy. Not only has Darlan been accepted by the French administrators of N. Africa as their leader; but even Dakar has joined him. And the anti-Darlan propaganda which continues even in the House of Commons can only have the effect of bringing France closer to America, and widening the gap between France and ourselves.

Our insular mentality, still further warped by war, has persuaded us that de Gaulle is representative of "the true France", whereas in fact he is not. A representative of France would be something between Laval and de Gaulle. Darlan perhaps comes as near as anybody to filling the bill. At any rate the plain business of Britain is not to encourage the hatred between de Gaulleists and Darlanists, but to do all she can to foster reconciliation between them.

### Most Urgent Problem

**A**T last the great underlying problem of the war is coming out into the open. Sir William Beveridge has acknowledged publicly that the crux is unemployment. A writer in the weekly Times (Nov. 11) begins an article:

"Middleton Murry wrote 'Remember the word of the unemployed man: "For us your peace is war and your war is peace". Think of the grim paradox that lurks behind those words.' Surely it must be the principal aim of post-war planning to ensure that the peace in store shall become for the worker a real peace. The outbreak of war was merely a change from economic to military hostilities."

Yet how to bring real peace—the peace of "joyful work and fearless rest"—to the worker? Sir William Beveridge says he doesn't know how to do it without totalitarianism. But the way must be found; and it must be found now.

"The maintenance of employment after the war was the most important and the most difficult of the problems of reconstruction," he said. "It was also the most urgent of all those problems because the methods of solving it must be agreed and settled during the war" (Times, Nov. 23).

Yet what has been actually done towards its solution? What has Mr. Churchill done to promote its solution?—without which victory will be no better than defeat?

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## INDUSTRY HAS A PLAN

says

JOHN SCANLON

On this the document is silent. The writers are trying remedies for a disease without first having diagnosed the cause.

Nevertheless, when the men responsible for production comes out openly to the nation with a clear statement of their case, honest discussion can now begin freed from all the wordy clap-trap which surrounds and envelopes political huckstering.

The document has no flowery promises on New Worlds or equality. To me it indicates rather a clear indication that new men are coming out openly to try to run an old world. The old world, in their view, is one in which investors lent money to industrialists who in turn hired men and bought machines which turned out goods for consumption.

All that is to continue, but industry within itself is to plan to cut out all unnecessary competition. It is to be the planned State so far as industry is concerned, but Industry is to do its own planning.

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**I**MENTION these things to bespeak a fair and impartial study of the proposals when they finally appear as a booklet.

The booklet will raise wide social issues and, I hope, wide cleavages. Whatever else it does, it puts clearly and intelligently what in the view of those primarily responsible for production will be the shape of economic Britain after the war, provided that the war ends as wars usually end.

This is where we should come in. In its social implications it states and accepts all the fundamentals so poetically accepted as the basis of "Labour and the Nation": the living wage; State responsibility for work or maintenance; part-time education up to eighteen; holidays with pay; and so on.

In fact it goes so far in this direction that there seems no good reason for the existing Labour Party or for 200 competing trade unions.

### ECONOMIC BREAKDOWN

But on the one issue which stands between mankind and plenty the document is silent, or nearly so. Any study of the various breakdowns in economic society will show that they were never due to man's inability to produce enough.

In 1931 all the countries of the world were flooded with goods, and all were poor. Why?

**I**NDUSTRY will claim the right to plan, not only what should be produced, but where it shall be produced in the interests of population, siting etc., to preserve the amenities of the countryside.

In short, in the document industry plans to do for itself what politicians and planners have been threatening to do. Having decided what is best for the nation, Industry will ask Parliament to give its plans the force of law. All of which sounds like the Parliament of Industry advocated by the present Lord Melchett many years ago.

Parliamentarians, I fear, will not like this. They will prefer to do things wrong in their own way rather than do them right in someone else's way.

### INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

In international trade matters the document proposes that one of the duties of a Central Council yet to be appointed should be: "To act on behalf of British industry in furthering international economic co-operation and the expansion of world trade."

Does this suggest spheres of influence? Does it mean China for the British, the Latin Americas for the USA? Naturally there are no details. But any planned world trade may be better than the world anarchy which even Sir Stafford Cripps now sees leading to war—not this war, of course.

I make no pretence that this review is a complete analysis of the document. Study it. Try to discover its defects and submit a better case. There is one.

# What Does



## Stand For?

GEOFFREY TATTERSALL  
(who represents Yorkshire Area on  
the National Council of the Peace  
Pledge Union)

gives his answer

"What does PPU stand for?" I was asked the other day. "I renounce War—" said I.

"Yes but shall we give up now? Will Hitler come here? Shall we all be massacred? Will he discuss peace terms with us? Would you hand over the colonies to him?"

Here is my reply.

WAR is horrible—beastly. Every body knows that. Some face the fact; some hide from it. Some try to minimize it; some exaggerate. But it's there. It may be just brutal or hideous, or it may be "the surgeon's knife"; but to me it is not only horrible and demoralizing; it is futile.

I don't mind going through dark places to get to the light, but there is no light at the end of war—only grey in comparison to black. I don't mind sacrifice and hardship—"blood and sweat and tears"—if it is for a good end; but there can be no good end in war. If there is a good peace after the war, it will be in spite of—not because of—the war.

### WHAT THEN?

Therefore I must try another way. But I can't. We can only try one method at one time, and it's war now. All right, let me say what I would do if you'd let me.

The war must stop NOW. It doesn't matter much how, as long as it stops. Let us admit that Europe is under Nazi domination and let them make the best of it. Remember Europe at war is much harder for all—especially our friends—than Europe at peace.

I would pose a question here. Hitler came to power by promising to raise Germany's status; to find employment for idle hands; to break the power of orthodox finance (Jews were not just a coincidence). Let us admit he has done it. Let Germans admit it. Hell Hitler! they say. Then what?

Can he oppress and grind down for ever? Will the concentration camps remain? He has had the encirclement threat to work on—the emergency needs we call it here. Can he still oppress when peace comes? In fact, will he want to? Will he need to? It has been said that Britain could afford her tolerance of rebels and protestants in prosperous days. Can Germany?

\* \* \*

I may be a gambler. It may be wishful thinking. In the above reasoning there is at least hope; there is room for useful striving. In war there is none. Therefore we must stop the war.

Let Germans get rid of Hitler if they want to, and let us get rid of Churchill, if we can. Let us do justice to India, to Africa, to China for that matter, to our own depressed classes. We shall have enough on.

### THE WAY OF CHRIST

I can't fight with violence. It's not in my nature. I don't claim any credit. It's just there. But what can I do for the millions who are violent—many pacifists among them?

What did Christ do? He lived among violent men, in violent times, and met a violent death. But the way he reacted to violence, the way he spoke to those who believed in it, has made its indelible mark in history.

He did not speak in "the only language they understood": he taught them a new one. "Love one another" sounds a bit soft today, but do as you would be done by is a good rule. Translate that into terms of food relief for Greece or Belgium, or bombing Berlin, or the treatment of natives.

Need I say more?

There, to me, is the eternal truth; and until men realize it and are prepared to act upon it, war will flourish and greed will grow and famine and pestilence will stalk the world.

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— by MAX PLOWMAN —

With an introduction by J. Middleton Murry

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## Why the Peace Movement is Weak?

M.R. James Basil Ball, in his letter to Peace News (Nov. 13) has revealed why the peace movement is such a weak and ineffective one; why it is absolutely ignored by those outside its scope, and why it has been submerged in the great deluge of war propaganda.

I'm sorry, but whilst people of Mr. Ball's mentality have anything to do with the peace movement will be a little puff-ball floating on the great ocean of international hatreds and destruction. He said he could not work with a person like Sir Oswald Mosley, and implied that the latter smelt of intolerance and that Mr. James Hudson was a rare type of ninny to be taken in with Sir Oswald Mosley's campaign for peace. Personally, I hate war with such fierce and constant sincerity that had Sir Oswald Mosley been the son of Satan, and was crusading for the peaceful security of my country, I would have backed him for all I was worth. Had there been more James Hudsons in the PPU, British mothers and wives would not have been crying over empty chairs today.

The trouble is that the forces for war are one and indivisible but the forces for peace, peace with honour and sanity, are as divided as the fixed stars; hence the pitifully meagre progress and influence of the peace movement in Britain.

H. BARRATT

### Dick Sheppard House

Having helped to pay that enormous sum on Dick Sheppard House, I am grieved to see it in such a state of dilapidation. All it needs is a few volunteers, a few coats of paint, and a little plaster. Surely we could manage that?

NANCY ROUSE

Colleton, Broadwater Rd., Worthing.

### Fire Watching Pay

Many of us have undertaken fire-watching duties and have received "subsistence allowances" accordingly. The nature of the job and how it arose is odious enough to most of us, and I suggest that everybody who agrees should forthwith give this allowance to the group treasurer if he is not already doing so. It seems to me that this is the least we can do to offset our reluctant participation in this activity.

RONALD W. BARNES

59 Sidbury, Worcester.

### Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

### CONSCIENCE

IT is arguable that in protesting against the cat-and-mouse form of persecution—even while continuing to administer it—the magistrate to whose action in so doing Mr. C. W. D. Newman took exception (PN, Oct. 23, Letters) may actually have done more to end it than he would have done by resigning. But (perhaps wrongly) neither Mr. Newman nor Mr. B. W. Campbell (PN, Nov. 6) seemed concerned with that aspect of the matter. The former was concerned that any man who admits that what he does is wrong ("against the public interest" was this magistrate's phrase) should not put the blame on someone else by saying he is "obliged" to do it, but should simply cease to do it. The latter, on the other hand, seems to exalt to the dignity of a high moral principle a practice which is at least debatable even as an expedient for righting wrongs.

If, however, Mr. Campbell had been content to defend the magistrate's action as the most effective way of righting the wrong, I might have disagreed with him, but I would not have felt obliged to protest—still less to resign from the PPU! As it is, I do protest—in the interests of all that COs are painfully witnessing for—against his misleading suggestion that conscience only makes a man pernickety.

It is misleading to represent conscience as a mere disagreement of opinion. It is not primarily a matter of opinion at all but is concerned with principles. As such, moreover, it is very often because of its agreement with the professed principles of the majority that it leads people to act against the inconsistent opinions, or actions, of society.

In representing conscience as capricious irresponsibility Mr. Campbell is at one with the authorities whose attitude to COs has revived the cat-and-mouse system.

HUMPHREY S. MOORE

7 Barnard Green, Welwyn Garden City.

### Victor Walker

Re Victor Walker in News of COs column, Nov. 20. I was with Vic at Maidstone; he entered HM residence a fit man in December 1941; on discharge consulted (as you state) his doctor and was ordered to bed where he died some weeks later. Yet you print: "While Victor Walker's condition did not appear, according to medical evidence, to be primarily due to prison conditions", etc... What's the matter, Peace News? Got cold feet?

JOE MALIN

3 Inglewood, Church Rd., Iver Heath.

## SOME RECENT PAMPHLETS

**Essays in Social and Economic Reconstruction:** No. 1. Economics and the Christian, by Leslie Artingstall. No. 3. Social Control and Personal Freedom. By Leyton Richards. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1, 4d. each.

These two pamphlets shed some light over the dark no-man's-land which separates social and economic practice from Christian principle.

In "Economics and the Christian" Mr. Artingstall attempts to formulate the conditions which should govern economic relations. He suggests that they should place emphasis upon individual personality, should be capable of being universalized, and should be in harmony with the other relationships of life. Although this is a religious rather than a political tract, it contains more real politics than much avowedly political literature.

"Social Control and Personal Freedom" is in line with Mr. Artingstall's premise and Mr. Richards looks away both from discredited laissez-faire and from bureaucratic government from above as evidenced most painfully by the centrally planned totalitarian States. He looks rather toward a self-imposed discipline working within the State and through voluntary groups. Mr. Richards directs attention to the Danish Co-operatives and to the High or Folk Schools which have functioned so effectively independent of government control. Readers will find here a line of thought similar to that developed by Mr. Murry in "Christocracy." H.P.F.

**National Regeneration and Agricultural Policy.** Bulletin No. 6 of the Farmers' Action Council, Kingsley, Bordon, Hants. 6d. Discusses the place due to agriculture in society and the issue of "centralization or freedom." The publishers outline their policy and recommend the pamphlet as a basis for discussion; it contains many points which COs in land communities will find useful for this purpose.

**Why This War Came!** By Alexander Ratcliffe. From author, 2 Endrick Drive, Bearsden, Dunbartonshire. 3d. Reprint from The Vanguard for December, 1941, showing responsibility of Britain and France for the rise of Nazism, and containing some useful quotations giving historical support to the author's case.

\* \* \*

**Christianity and the State.** By G. Lloyd Phelps. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. This, the second pamphlet in the series of "Essays in social and economic reconstruction," discusses the relationship of Church and State in history, declaring that the former has regarded the latter as "a permanent fact of history, neither essentially good nor evil, but with great powers for both good and evil." In our own day, with its danger of economic and political fascism replacing existing pluto-democracies, "we have to find an adequate equivalent for love (which can apply only between persons) in terms of social justice."

**Conference on "The Means of Achieving the New Social Order."** Industrial and Social Order Council, Society of Friends. From Joyce Wells, 474 Middleton Hall Rd., King's Norton, Birmingham, 80. 1s. for 25 copies.

Statement from the conference held at Wadham College, Oxford, in August, stressing the need for fundamental changes—as against the mere improvement of existing conditions—and suggesting ways of striving for them now.

\* \* \*

**Pressing Problems and Fashionable Fallacies of Political Economy.** By Francis W. Hirst. Cottenham Club, Dunford House, Midhurst, Sussex, 6d.

Mr. Hirst expounds his liberal and reformist theories of political economy, but pays scant attention to some of the forces at work in the modern world.

**Convict 9653.** By Guy A. Aldred. Strickland Press, 104 George St., Glasgow, C.I. 2d.

The story of Eugene Victor Debs, the uncompromising American socialist and anti-militarist, and his persecution by the authorities.

\* \* \*

"The casualties of human life in a war are frightful, but a worse casualty is that of the soul," writes the Reverend Benedict Ehmann, a Roman Catholic priest of Rochester, New York, in a recent issue of the Catholic Courier. "What good is it to beat down oppression and slavery and then find that our own souls are brutal? Christians cannot tolerate any pleasure in the monstrous means of war. The wave of enthusiasm which swept our country because of the bombing of Japanese cities I suppose it would be charitable to interpret as satisfaction over the turn of the tide in our military affairs. But what if the enthusiasm had in it any element of vindictiveness, of hardness, of pride? There is the horrible danger that what we are choosing to consider 'the arsenal of democracy' may emerge from the war a bedlam of hate, not only with blood on our hands, but with murder in our hearts... American Christians, or Christians of any other land, cannot go all out for war. We have our hearts to keep. It must be true of all of us that our hearts are not in war. This need not subtract from loyalty, nor from obedience to any of the legitimate demands of the government. It does mean that we keep our hearts in charity."

**Vera Brittain**  
reading from her own work at The Labour Club, 57 Church Road, Richmond (Richmond station, buses 33, 37 and 73) on Sunday, Nov. 29, at 3 p.m. Introduced by John Brown.

\* \* \*

COLLECTION FOR DICK SHEPPARD FUND

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS,  
Dick Sheppard House,  
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## Indian Freedom Campaign

By HOWARD WHITTEN

THE tentative moves of pacifists and other progressive people to get justice for India have crystallized into the Indian Freedom Campaign. The inaugural letter, over a number of well-known signatures, appeared in these pages some weeks ago. The Campaign has now elaborated plans and claims the support of certain organizations.

Prominent members of the Peace Pledge Union, including the Gen. Secretary and the Tutor of Peace News, are on its working Committee, and the PPU National Council has generally approved the Campaign, in addition to making a substantial grant towards its initial expenses.

The first main activity for which Group support is urgently needed is in the dissemination of the eight-page pamphlet in popular format, "Free India." This will be published on Nov. 30 and orders can be accepted now. It is suitable for street-selling, and it is hoped that a large public who are normally indifferent to pamphlets may be reached. The price is 1s. 6d. per dozen for bulk orders.

Contributors include Edward Thompson, poet and historian, the only Englishman who has addressed the Congress Working Committee, who explains why "there is no hope whatever until new hands take over"; Lionel Fielden, ex-Director General of All-India Radio places the Indian Muslims in perspective; Wilfred Wellock sketches the apprenticeship of Gandhi in S. Africa; Agatha Harrison contributes pen-pictures of some of the men who are Britain's prisoners; and the ex-Editor of the Bombay Sunday Standard shows the dimmities and contradictions of Princes' India. Fenner Brockway comments on the representative character of Indian National Congress and Reginald Reynolds demonstrates the essential unity of India for independence.

Important statements on policy both from the British and Congress side are included, and a diary of recent events brings the sad story up-to-date. "Free India" must achieve the widest possible circulation.

### DECLARATION

No less important, perhaps, is the declaration, signed by a number of eminent people, which is being issued in the form of an introductory leaflet at 1s. per thousand, plus postage, so that it can be assured of broadcast distribution.

A delegate conference at the Conway Hall is planned for Jan. 3, details of which are being circulated to Groups within easy reach of London. The speakers include most of the contributors to "Free India" named above, and, in addition, J. F. Horrabin, Dinah Stock, and a speaker from the Committee of Indian Congressmen in Britain. The fee for delegates is 1s. 6d. and for visitors 2s. It is hoped that every Group interested will send a delegate.

Meanwhile, other publications are in preparation. A pamphlet based upon Louis Fischer's recent articles in the New York Nation is now being selected and should be ready early in the New Year.

### LOCAL ACTIVITY

In Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, and elsewhere local activity of the campaign is already evident. As far as possible, the Campaign will help provincial supporters with speakers, advice, and literature. In each locality the most effective action must be taken to collaborate with all who regard freedom for India as something good in itself and not merely as a political bargaining counter. This may involve the formation of local committees, or a suitable association may already exist. Alternatively, purely informal co-operation of the PPU, ILP, Commonwealth, and "rebel" Labour Parties may be adequate.

The immediate task is to create an informed public opinion on the subject, to correct the habitual misstatements about Indian affairs, and to press on the Government the urgency of a settlement in India on the only lines acceptable to the Indian people—that is, self-determination—and the transfer of power to responsible Indian statesmen to that end.

\* All Indian Freedom Campaign literature, orders, donations, and inquiries should be addressed to the Hon. Sec. at 8 Endsleigh Gdns., London W.C.1.

## Grim Picture Of Greece

*Unless more food arrives and the Red Cross kitchens are able to stay open, the entire race of Greeks is in danger of perishing. For 95% of the Greek people now have nothing.*

THIS is the grim conclusion of perhaps the best informed account to date of conditions in Greece. It appeared in the Sunday Chronicle (Nov. 15) and simultaneously in USA. Other points made by the observer are:

Revolt calls for physical stamina, which is fast ebbing in this country. Starving men can think only of food for themselves and their loved ones.

The decision which Red Cross workers must frequently make is heart-breaking. There is so little food and medicine that they must be given only to those who have a chance to survive. None can be wasted on those who cannot be saved.

Of Greece's normal population of seven millions, it can be justly estimated that more than a fifth have died since the invaders came. The death rate has increased 600%, and municipal authorities make no further attempt to keep account of the dead, for most families try to hide their dead... in order to keep the bread card. Athens is the hardest hit, for here a million people live with no means to provide food for themselves.

Once trains brought part of Athens' food from Macedonia. Now the Bulgarians have taken Macedonia and the trains have stopped. (In the Dourgouti quarter)... we came upon a truck broken down in the street. Piled high with more than 50 bodies it had been standing there for two days and now half-starved workmen were repairing a wheel so that the bodies could be carried on to the communal graves. We put on our masks.

(At Epano-Petalona, Hagia Triadha quarter)... five children swollen with the hunger disease. Last week we gave them olive oil and the swelling subsided, but now they are hopelessly lost, so we can't waste oil on them.

The death rate now runs to 500 a day in Athens and Piraeus.

The writer describes people who had traded all their furniture for food on the "Black Bourse" and had torn

up their floorboards for heating. In the light of this report it is difficult to believe that the 100 tons of milk to be permitted into the country in future months will be adequate to arrest the process of extermination.

Lady Astor's Naval Lieutenant son, the Hon. W. W. Astor, making his maiden speech in the Commons on Nov. 14, on his return after three years service in the Middle East, pleaded that the Government should drop concentrated foodstuffs by airplane on the starving population of Athens.

The Greek authorities are now faced with "a typhus epidemic" which, according to the Sunday Times, has been raging for the past month and has necessitated the burning down of whole villages by the Italian authorities "to prevent the spreading of the plague". The same report adds that "public kitchens now supply food daily for 500,000 persons; another 500,000 are receiving food in canteens established for workers, children and employees."

The Relief Service Unit, Poplar, operating from 20 Plimsoll St., E.14, is in need of part-time assistance each evening of the week. Children need to be provided with the opportunity of entertainment; the aged and infirm have numerous wants; and many less inviting tasks await a willing hand. Anyone who can spare an evening a week, or alternate weeks, is asked to write to John A. Whittaker at the above address.

### ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

S.C. furnished flat or small house required. Own cutlery, crockery, kitchen utensils, and linen. S. or S.E. London district. Box 615 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 6s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

KIDSTONES SCHOOL, Bishopdale, Leyburn, Yorks, now established as Educational Trust. Thus financial considerations need not debar your children from joining. Progressive methods. Fully qualified staff. Safe, healthy area. Home farm. Co-educational from 7 years.

### FOR SALE & WANTED

C.O. offers at cut prices all cosmetics, toilet goods, elastic, studs, hair slides, combs, etc. Box 623 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

CHRISTMAS CARDS specially produced and hand-printed. Original designs and peace verses 2d; verses only 1d; postage extra. Assortment on sale or return post free to groups 5s. Write Mary Osborn, Laverton, Broadway, Worcs.

ECONOMY LABELS with Peace News slogan. 1s. per 100; 8s. per 1,000 Order through your local Peace News distributor.

RADIOGRAM or Radio Set or Electric Gramophone Motor wanted. 20 Lissom Grove, Marylebone, N.W.1.

### LAND & COMMUNITY

COMMUNITY has vacancy for girl, land or house worker. Gloucester Land Scheme, Hempstead, Glos.

SHERWOOD SCHOOL COMMUNITY invites inquiries from those wishing to accept simple standard of living, pooling incomes, probably sharing large house with one or two other families, and sending children to progressive co-educational community school. Write to Harold Pratt, Sherwood School, Epsom.

WANTED, 1 or 2 acres to rent, suitable market garden, within 10 miles Streatham. Box 618 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### LITERATURE, &c.

GIFT FOR C.O.s in prison. Ten copies "How Green Was My Valley." Relatives write. Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, etc., without obligation. Write for list Marshall as above.

PEACEMONGERING AIDS. "Pioneering For World Brotherhood," 7d. "My Daily Bread," 2d. "Why the German Republic Fell," 1s. 8d. Price includes postage. E. Crawford, 27 St. John's Hill, Shrewsbury.

PRACTICAL ISSUES which face the pacifists are discussed in "Retribution or . . . ?" by William E. Wilson 4d., and "Freedom, Responsibility, and Control" by John W. Harvey 1d. Published by the Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1.

## NEWS of C.O.s

THE maximum penalty that could be imposed by a police court for failure to register for fire-watching (3 months hard labour and £100 fine)—imposed on Edward Walker of Whitefield, near Manchester, in August by Radcliffe Police Court—was reduced at Salford Hundred Quarter Sessions on Nov. 9 to one month's imprisonment and a fine of £10. Walker had been doing fire-watching but objected to the principle of compulsion.

\* \* \*

News of the treatment of Dutch people living in S. Africa who refuse military service, and a description of how Spiceland Training Centre can help C.O.s are features of the Nov. issue of the CBCO Bulletin.

\* \* \*

William Malyon, whose court-martial we reported last week, was sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment.

### ADVISORY BUREAUX

Erith and Barnehurst individual adviser.—J. Jarman, 57 Downbank Av., Barnehurst.

Gravesend individual adviser.—A. H. Woolgar, 29 Churchill Rd., Gravesend.

Delete Kilburn (covered by Willesden). Add Lambeth (covering S.E.11, S.E.17, Southwark and Newington).—Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Darwell, 11 Regina Court, Lambeth Rd., S.E.1.

Liverpool (covering also Bootle, Crosby, Prescot, Huyton).—T. Charles Griffith, 7 Valescourt Rd., Liverpool 12. (Telephone: Stoneycroft 4372).

Louth individual adviser.—Rev. Edwin H. Newton, The Manse, High Holme Rd., Louth. Penrith.—Gerald Brown now Monks Hall, Scotland Rd., Penrith, Cumb.

The cry for retribution against "war criminals" has now been extended to the application of systematic starvation. A correspondent in the Yorkshire Post, Oct. 29, expresses the hope that "each in turn" will suffer "the same treatment, of hunger and starvation, they have imposed on helpless men, women and children."

## SUPPLIES of P.N.

It has come to our notice that some readers are not yet aware that restrictions on orders for Peace News, which we had to impose early in September, have now been lifted. The present position regarding our paper supplies has been explained in recent circulars to all distributors, the chief point being that the use of lighter weight paper makes it possible for us once again to accept orders for increased supplies. We want at least to restore as speedily as possible all "cuts" in orders made in the last few months—are you helping us to do so?

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

2d. per word minimum 2s. 6d.  
Box Number 6d. extra.

N.B. Cash MUST accompany copy, except for series bookings.

### Latest time for copy:

Classified advertisements: MONDAY  
(Displayed advertisements: First Post FRIDAY)  
(Maximum space allowed—8 inches single column or equivalent.)

All available space in the  
NEXT TWO ISSUES  
has already been booked.

### LITERATURE (Cont.)

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

### MEETINGS, &c.

BIRMINGHAM. Labour Pacifist Fellowship, Sun., Dec. 6. Harry Wickham (Borough Party organizer) on "The Labour Party Constitution and Minority Opinions." Bristol St. School at 6.30. Non-members specially invited.

DAGENHAM Group Freedom for India. John McNair (General Secretary, I.L.P.), Kingsley Hall, Dagenham, Tues., Dec. 1, 7.45 p.m.

NORTH LONDON REGION. North London Players present "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" by Jerome K. Jerome on Sat., Dec. 19, 3 p.m. Theatre, Guildhall School of Music and Drama, John Carpenter St., E.C.4. Tickets Stalls 2s., Balcony 1s. 6d., from Nellie Harby, 74 Ingleton Rd., N.18.

THE OLDBURY GROUP invites you to a Social and Dance in aid of the Dick Sheppard House Fund at Warley Institute, Pound Rd., Warley, on Sat., Nov. 28, 6.30 to 10 p.m. 1s. 3d., including light refreshments.

### PERSONAL

ANCOATS HOSPITAL, Manchester, needs 5 pacifists immediately to strengthen pacifist voluntary fire squad. Need urgent. Write 86 Rusholme Rd., Manchester 13.

INTRODUCTIONS by post between pacifists, progressives, and other PN readers. Profits for Peace. Stamp brings particulars. Box 554 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LOONEY C.O. landworker, 26, fond music, desires female companionship. Middlesex-Herts. Box 622 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

NEWELL. To Evelyn Kearton (Parker) and James Waterhouse Newell, of Hey Meadow, Edenfield Ramsbottom, Lancs, on Nov. 16 a son, who is called John Philip.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

ANIMAL WELFARE society require competent worker collect subscriptions, canvas, assist generally in society's work London. Write Box 609 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

COMPANION HELP required, domesticated C.O. not objected to, exempt. Family 2, good home, modern. Box 617 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### SITS. VACANT (Cont.)

EXPERIENCED lady shop assistant required for stationery, S.W.17 district. Apply 8 Cummer Rd., Sutton.

MARKE GARDEN and Orchards Evesham district has vacancy for Assistant Manager with practical horticultural experience (preferably college trained). Please state age, experience salary required. Box 620 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SHORTHAND TYPIST (male or female) and also General Clerk required by West London Solicitors. Might also consider Beginner or Junior if typist. Apply with age, experience, and salary required to Box 621 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED for mechanised Market Garden (Worcestershire), C.O. with automobile engineering experience, willing learn drive tractor, and capable undertake general machinery maintenance and repair. Please write stating age, experience. Box 619 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED: Kindergarten Mistress, resident at School for Backward Boys, safe area, also Lady Help, two friends considered. Write giving full particulars to the Secretary, Petton Hall, Burton, Salop.

7-9 or 9-11 year group teacher needed in Jan. for expanding school. Please state subjects offered and experience. Burgess Hill School, Redhurst, Cranleigh.

### SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O., MARRIED, requires agricultural work; 18 months general experience including tractor; adaptable, good worker. Box 614 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 22, married, no children, 3 years general farming experience, seeks change of post. Box 618 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 24, seeks agricultural employment near Beckenham, Kent. 3 years experience. Box 616 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 29, conditionally exempt, experienced motor lorry driver. Manchester, Warrington, Liverpool area. Box 603 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

GIRL C.O., 22, Friend, seeks any constructive work, mornings. East London district. Public library experience. Box 624 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST COUPLE urgently seek idealistic employment; Scotland preferred; sociological, agricultural; inexperienced latter but interested Northbourne methods. Husband practical experience, higher type nervous disorders. Both type, drive car. Anything constructive considered. Good dog would accompany. R. M. Struthers, c/o G.P.O., Glasgow.

### WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holiday or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

LAKE DISTRICT: "Beck Allans," Grasmere. Vegetarian Guest House open all the year round for strenuous or restful holidays amid some of England's finest scenery. H. and C. water all bedrooms. Write: Isabel James. Phone: Grasmere 129.

WYE VALLEY, (6 miles Monmouth) Guests received in peaceful country house, in parkland of 150 acres. Run by Christian community. Terms, from £2.17s. 6d. Apply Lindores Settlement, St. Briavels, Glos.

### MISCELLANEOUS

GROUP MEDITATION (London). Yoga and Heard-Huxley theories. Active proponents, write Bagg, Merville, 106 Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

UNCURED? Katherine MacDonald M.S.F. Naturopath, absolutist pacifist, all troubles; special tonic 1s. 6d. including postage. Clinic: Sundays 7 p.m. Middle aged. Popular Saturday nights 7.30 p.m. 1s. 6d. Duke of Bedford's speech, R. Mallone's poems. 6 Lansdowne Cres., Glasgow.

UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD. Join The Movement and help to build the New World. Write today for Manifesto; to Hon. Organizer, 91 Circle Gdns., London S.W.19.

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## NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES (Birmingham Branch)

A Public Meeting will be held in the Small Lecture Theatre, Birmingham and Midland Institute, Paradise Street, at 6.30 p.m. on Friday, December 4.

Speaker: Miss FREDA WHITE (Assistant Editor of the New Statesman and Nation).

Subject: Britain and Her Colonies, with a reference to the recent imposition of forced labour.

Chairman: Councillor C. G. Spragg (Secretary of Birmingham Trades Council).

This is an invitation to you and your friends.

W. A. LINNING (Hon. Secretary), 7 Woodland Road, Northfield, Birmingham, 31.

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